

**BEFORE THE  
UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
WESTERN DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA  
LAFAYETTE DIVISION**

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In the Matter of  
STATE OF ARIZONA, et al. v. GARLAND, et al.

Case 6:22-cv-01130

**EXPERT REPORT BY MICHAEL A. CLEMENS  
ON BEHALF OF THE  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE**

**August 24, 2023**

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## I. Introduction

### 1. Qualifications

- (1) My name is Michael A. Clemens. I am a full professor with tenure in the Department of Economics at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia, and a Non-resident Senior Fellow at the Peterson Institute of International Economics in Washington, DC. I specialize in research on the causes and effects of international migration. I hold my Ph.D. degree from the Department of Economics and Harvard University.
- (2) Economists study the reasons that immigration flows are different across time and across space. Economists also study the effects of immigration on labor markets, public coffers, crime, assimilation, public attitudes, and other outcomes. I am highly familiar with the academic research literature on the causes and effects of immigration, and the data and methods used to establish empirical facts about immigration.
- (3) The field of economics has also contributed more generally to a body of statistical tools used to transparently assess cause and effect, collectively known as econometrics. Econometrics is the application of statistical methods to real-world data in order to address economic problems and establish causal relationships between quantitative measures of real-world phenomena. The statistical methods and issues in econometrics are common to quantitative analysis in other branches of the social sciences. I have extensive training and experience in the field of econometrics, including regression and other statistical methods.
- (4) I have published 38 articles in peer-reviewed academic journals. As of June 26, 2023, the website Google Scholar counted 12,851 citations of my research by other scholars' papers.<sup>1</sup> My citations by other academic economists place me in the top 2.1 percent of all-time citations among all academic economists, according to the website *Research Papers in Economics (RePEc)* at the Federal Reserve Bank of Saint Louis.<sup>2</sup> For citations of works written in the past 10 years, my rank is in the top 0.4 percent of all academic economists.<sup>3</sup> My research was awarded the Royal Economic Society Prize in 2013, an annual honor to the best research paper published by the world's oldest professional society of economists.

- (5) I hold honorary affiliations with the IZA Institute of Labor Economics in Bonn, Germany, the world's leading network of academic labor economists; the Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration in the Department of Economics at University College London, London, United Kingdom, the world's leading network of academic migration economists; and the Center for Global Development in Washington, DC, a nonpartisan think tank that studies policies to reduce global poverty. I serve occasionally as an Expert Development Economist in the Office of the Administrator at the US Agency for International Development, advising the Administrator on policies to improve and enforce pathways for temporary labor migration in the Western Hemisphere. Before joining George Mason University, I served for 20 years as a fellow of the Center for Global Development, which I joined immediately after my doctorate.

## 2. Scope

- (6) I have been asked by the Department of Justice to assess the effects of federal government policy on the volume of migrants attempting to enter the United States irregularly at the Southwest border.<sup>4</sup>
- (7) I was asked to assess the factual claim that the *Asylum Processing Interim Final Rule* (“Asylum Processing IFR”)<sup>5</sup> caused a rise in the total number of migrants encountered by U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) at the Southwest US border. The rule was published on March 29, 2022, became effective since May 31, 2022, and remains in effect as I write this. The relevant passages of the complaints that I was asked to assess read as follows:

*“Because the Asylum [Processing] IFR makes it easier for aliens with non-meritorious asylum claims to be released in the United States, it will induce a significant increase of illegal immigration into the United States. ... The Asylum IFR will result in tens or hundreds of thousands of aliens unlawfully entering the United States, who would otherwise not be able to gain entry. ... The Asylum IFR will increase illegal immigration into the United States.”*

—Arizona v. Garland, Case 6:22-cv-01130, Para. 61, 106, 110.

*“If the Defendants are allowed to continue admitting illegal aliens into the United States in violation of federal law, then the harm will only grow over time. As DHS and federal courts have found, incentives matter: reducing the likelihood that an alien will be released into the United States reduces the number of aliens who attempt to enter the United States illegally.”*

—Texas v. Biden, Case 2:22-cv-00094-Z, Para. 58

- (8) I evaluate the effects of the Asylum Processing IFR in isolation—that is, all else equal. I do *not* examine whether this policy change could, in principle, serve as a necessary element of a bundle of policies that affects migration behavior (a “NESS” cause), including for example physical barriers or parole processes.<sup>6</sup> Rather, I examine whether the Asylum Processing IFR by itself, and without complementary policies, is *sufficient* to affect migration behavior.

### **3. Summary of Results**

- (9) I find no evidence that the Asylum Processing IFR, by itself, was sufficient to substantially affect overall CBP encounters at the Southwest Border. Encounters were lower in the months after the Rule took effect than before it. Encounters were also lower after the rule took effect than would have been predicted based on pre-Rule historical patterns in the fluctuations and seasonality of encounters. Finally, post-Rule trends in encounters of migrants affected by the Rule were indistinguishable from trends in encounters of similar migrants who were not affected by the Rule.
- (10) The evidence is *not* inconsistent with the possibility that changes to asylum procedure or processing can be a necessary element of a larger bundle of policies that, together, are sufficient to cause substantial changes in migration behavior. For example, none of the evidence presented here is informative about the effects of a policy bundle that includes both changes in asylum procedure or processing with consequences for illegal entry *and* creates lawful alternative migration pathways. None of the asylum policy changes that I was asked to evaluate here fit that pattern.

## **II. Analysis**

- (11) The factual claims that I assess rest on a core assumption that the Asylum Processing IFR incentivizes migrants to choose to migrate to the border. I am not aware of prior, direct tests of this effect in the research literature. Due to the absence of direct evidence on the factual questions I am asked to address, I formulate and conduct new tests below.

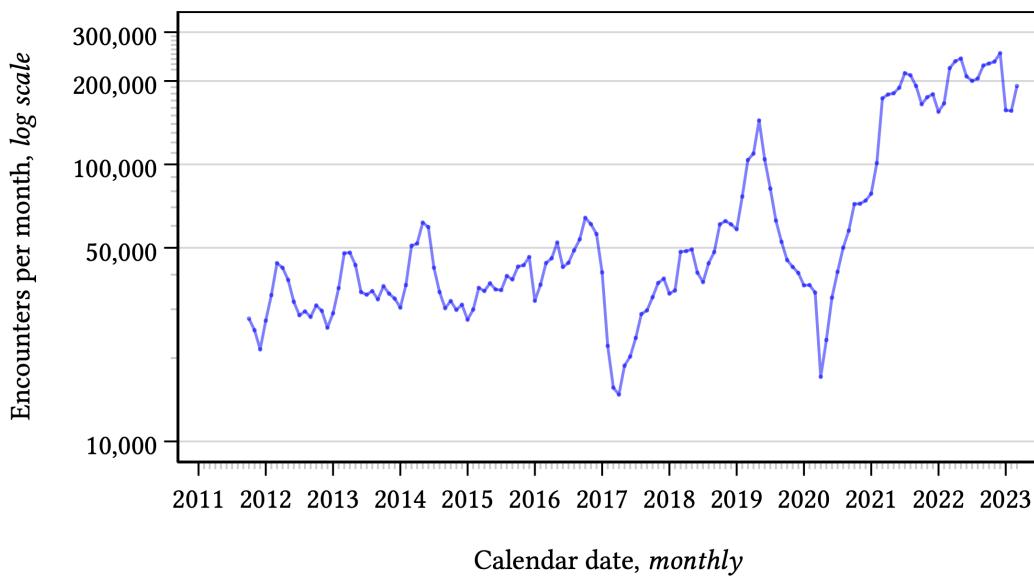
### **1. Data on border encounters**

- (12) My analysis below relies on two main data sources. The first is the monthly data on overall migrant encounters at the Southwest border, FY2019 (October) through FY2023 (March),

published by CBP on its Public Data Portal.<sup>7</sup> The second is the corresponding monthly data on migrant encounters during FY2011 (October) through FY2018 (September), obtained from CBP under the Freedom of Information Act by the Syracuse University Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse (TRAC). Both of these series include encounters by CBP overall (US Border Patrol and the Office of Field Operations), under any title (both Title 8 and Title 42), of migrants of any nationality, age, and family status.

- (13) Figure 1 shows the resulting complete monthly series of border encounters from the calendar month of October 2011 through the calendar month of March 2023, the latest data made public by CBP at the time of this writing. Details of the data sources are presented in the Appendix.
- (14) In this figure and throughout this analysis, the vertical axis measuring levels of encounters is

*Figure 1: Border encounters per month, 2011–2023*



shown on a logarithmic scale, that is, a scale where powers of ten are equally spaced. This has the effect of representing any two equal *percentage changes* in the data as equally-spaced vertical shifts, regardless of the starting *level*. For example, a change from 1,000 to 1,100 is shown in the graph by the same vertical distance as a change from 100,000 to 110,000. This is appropriate when considering the effects of policy interventions that might deter or encourage potential migrants by changing the *probability* that any given person chooses to migrate, by altering their incentives. Intuitively, for example, if a policy change deters 50 percent of

potential migrants from migrating, the magnitude of that effect should be assessed independently of the population size considered.

- (15) A minor source of data, used only in Section II.4.c (Figure 14), contains monthly enrollments in the Migration Protection Protocols (MPP) from January 2019 through August 2022, also obtained from CBP by TRAC. The portion of that dataset starting in October 2019 is also publicly available from CBP.<sup>8</sup>

## **2. Effects of the Asylum Processing IFR on Border Encounters**

- (16) Measuring the effect of the Asylum Processing IFR on migrant encounters requires comparing actual encounters to what they would have been in the absence of the policy—that is, “counterfactual” encounters. Because counterfactual encounters cannot be directly observed, a statistical assessment of causation relies on comparing actual encounters to various proxies for the unobserved, counterfactual encounters. Here I test for effects of the Asylum Processing IFR using three independent proxies for counterfactual encounters: encounters before the rule, encounters predicted by pre-rule patterns, and encounters in a similar group of migrants unaffected by the rule.

### ***a. Comparison to encounters before the rule***

- (17) A first step in testing for the rule’s effect on border encounters is simply to check whether the volume of migrants encountered rose after the rule went into effect on May 31, 2022. The data do not exhibit a substantial rise of this kind in the months around the advent of the rule. Migrant encounters fell after the rule relative to their volume before the rule.
- (18) In a time window of one month on either side of the policy change, border encounters fell by 13.8 percent after the rule became effective—from 241,136 (May 2022) to 207,834 (June 2022).
- (19) In a time window of four months on either side of the policy change, border encounters fell by 3.0 percent after the rule became effective—from 216,376 per month (average, February–May 2022) to 209,908 per month (average, June–September 2022).
- (20) This comparison is transparent but may be too simple. Most importantly, it may not account for underlying trends that could cause the volume of border encounters to rise or fall independent of any policy change. It is hypothetically possible that an irrelevant downward

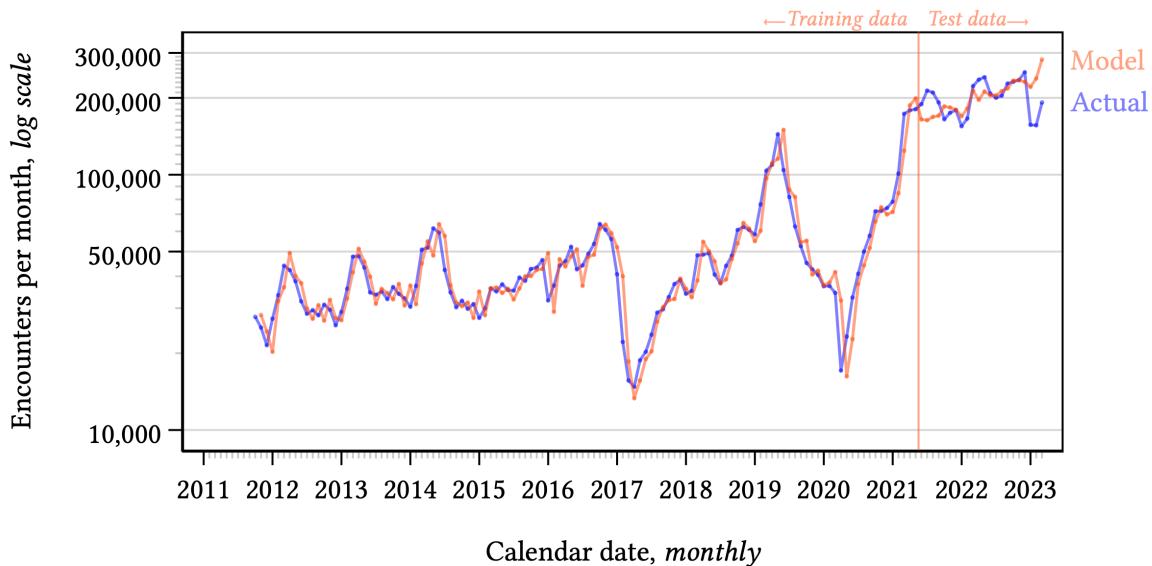
trend in border encounters could conceal any rise in encounters that might be caused by the rule. For this reason, I proceed to a more sophisticated but somewhat less transparent method.

**b. Comparison to encounters predicted using pre-rule patterns**

- (21) The next step is to check whether the advent of the rule was followed by a rise in the volume of border encounters relative to the trend that would have been expected given typical, unrelated trends in border encounters. I do this by building a forecasting model of border encounters of a type known as ARIMA (Autoregressive Integrated Moving Average).
- (22) The ARIMA model is due to Box and Jenkins (1970). ARIMA models are “the most widely used methods for time series forecasting” (Adhikari and Agrawal 2012, p. 43). They are the most well-established statistical method to model patterns over time in the changes of a single variable (e.g. Hamilton 1994, Tsay 2000, Lütkepohl 2004). ARIMA models are very widely used in government, private firms, and academia for quantitative forecasts. They are appropriate for studying time-varying quantities that 1) mostly exhibit smooth changes rather than erratic, unpredictable jumps, 2) exhibit some inertia, so that unexpected changes affect future values, and 3) drift systematically upward or downward over time, rather than always reverting to the same level. In other words, the ARIMA model allows for the time-series being studied to exhibit current values that are systematically correlated with preceding values (“*autoregressive*”: AR), whose mean and variance may shift over time (“*non-stationary*” or “*integrated*”: I), and whose current values are systematically correlated with prior shocks relative to trend (“*moving average*”: MA).
- (23) Due to the clear seasonal variation in border encounters, the ARIMA model used here furthermore allows for autocorrelation between values spaced by 12 months.<sup>9</sup>
- (24) The ARIMA model has been very widely used across a variety of scientific disciplines for the purpose of evaluating the impact of policy interventions, starting with Box and Tiao (1975) and continuing to the present day (e.g. Schaffer et al. 2021). The essence of this method is to compare the actual changes in a quantity of interest, following a policy intervention, to the changes that would have been predicted by an ARIMA forecast based exclusively on information available before the intervention. If the model accurately forecasts how the quantity of interest would have evolved in the absence of the policy intervention, then the

difference between the actual value and the forecast value at any moment in time captures the effect of the policy intervention.

*Figure 2: Validating the model*

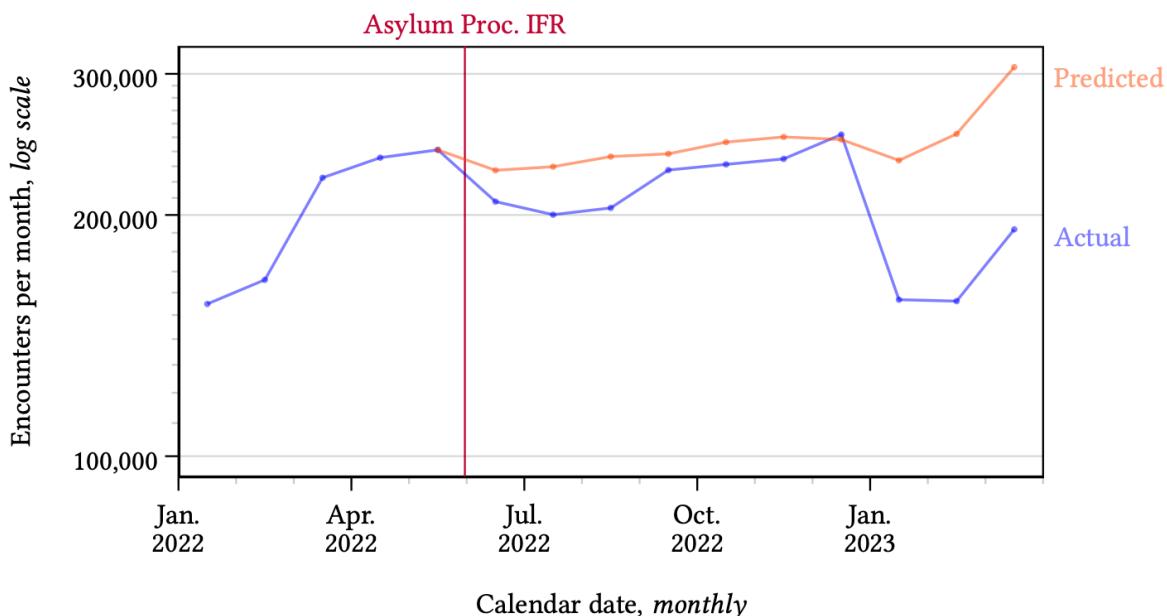


- (25) I forecast border encounters with an ARIMA model that allows the current month's volume of encounters to be affected by both levels and shocks in the two preceding months. That timeframe of two months was chosen by the standard method of Hyndman and Khandakar (2008) as the span that best fits the patterns in the full border encounters dataset (October 2011 through March 2023). My ARIMA model allows for nonstationarity (first-order integration) given the obvious time-trend in the mean monthly volume of encounters visible in Figure 1, and for a seasonal ARMA process (with a 12-month lag) given the well-known seasonal variation in migrant arrivals at the border.<sup>10</sup> Irregular migration at the border tends to peak in the spring and early summer, and taper off in the winter. Finally, I add to the model the previous month's US unemployment rate for Hispanic/Latino workers, which affects the volume of border encounters but is not meaningfully affected by border encounters.<sup>11</sup>
- (26) I first validate the model by testing its ability to predict the recent, actual monthly volume of border encounters. Figure 2 shows that the model predicts border encounters with high accuracy. In this validation exercise, I arbitrarily choose a cutoff date of May 31, 2021. I then use the ARIMA model to predict what would have happened to border encounters in each

month after May 31, 2021 using only information available before that date, along with the US unemployment rate for Hispanic/Latino workers in the preceding month.

- (27) By construction, the model fits the “training data” closely (on or before May 31, 2021). More importantly, it also fits the “test data” well (after May 31, 2021). Figure 2 shows that the model closely predicts the overall level of encounters in the following months, the modest fall in monthly encounters during the rest of 2021, and the marked rise in early 2022. It does all this using exclusively information available on or before May 31, 2021. In the 22 months from June 2021 through March 2023, actual encounters were 200,295 per month on average, while the model predicts 203,136—a difference of only 1.4 percent. From this exercise I conclude that the model contains reliable information about the overall level and likely evolution of future border encounters in a business-as-usual scenario.

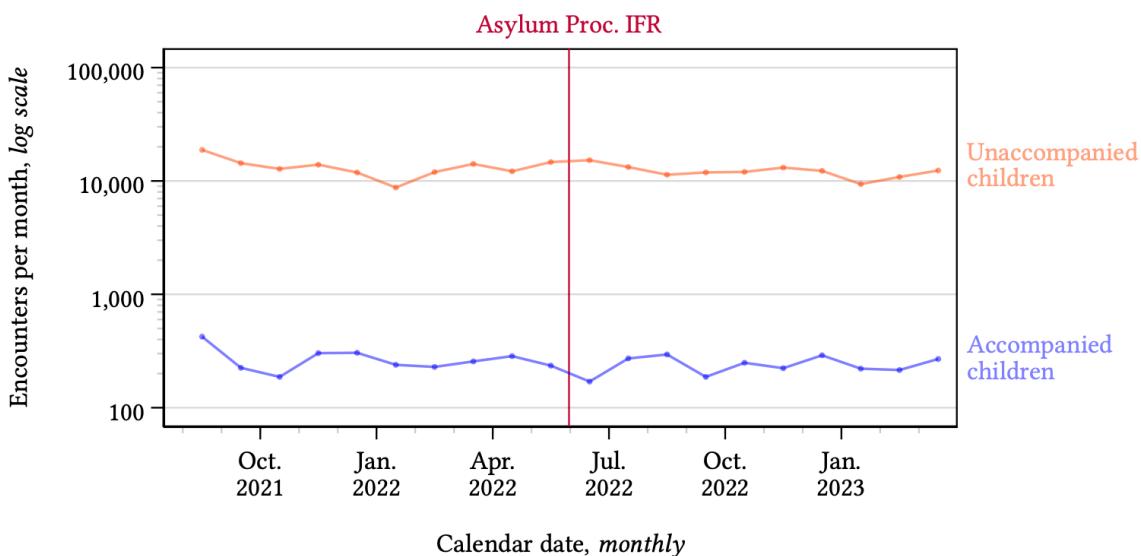
*Figure 3: Econometric test of the effect of the Asylum Processing IFR on border encounters*



- (28) To estimate the effect of the Asylum Processing IFR, then, I use the ARIMA model to forecast the evolution of border encounters in each month after the policy went into effect, on May 31, 2022. For this forecast I use exclusively information available on or before May 31, 2022, along with the US unemployment rate of Hispanic/Latino workers (which is not substantially affected by border encounters). I then compare that predicted evolution of border encounters to actual border encounters after the rule took effect.

(29) Figure 3 compares the actual values of monthly border crossings to the predicted values in all available months since the Asylum Processing IFR took effect at the end of May 2022. Actual border encounters were lower in June 2022 than would have been expected given the levels and patterns in border encounters and the US Hispanic/Latino unemployment rate in and before May 2022. Actual encounters were lower than predicted encounters in all subsequent months but one, December 2022, when actual and predicted encounters were nearly identical. In short, migrant encounters at the US Southwest border fell after the Asylum Processing IFR took effect, relative to the levels that would be typically expected according to a standard forecasting accounting for past overall trends and seasonal trends in encounters plus the effect of changes in the US unemployment rate for Hispanic/Latino workers.

*Figure 4: Encounters of accompanied vs. unaccompanied children, Aug. 2021–Mar. 2023*

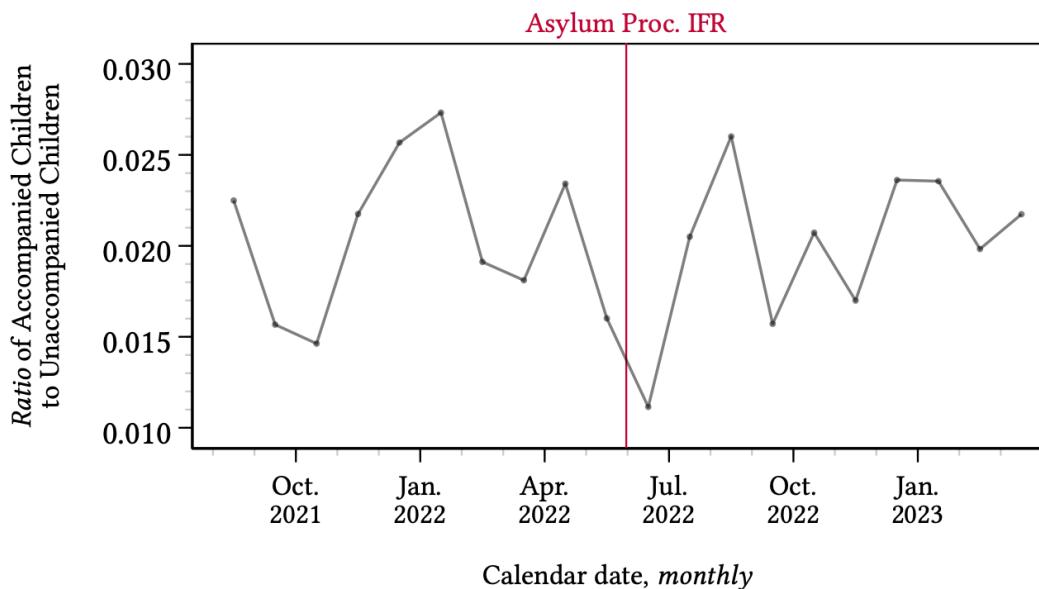


**c. Comparison to encounters of similar migrants unaffected by the rule**

(30) The Asylum Processing IFR does not apply to unaccompanied children,<sup>12</sup> that is, alien children younger than 18 who are not accompanied by adult alien parent(s) or legal guardian(s). The Asylum Processing IFR does apply to all other children. If migrants' understanding of the procedural change under the Asylum Processing IFR caused a greater incentive to arrive at the border and attempt entry, I expect to observe a rise in attempted entry by the group subject to the rule (accompanied children) relative to the group unaffected by the rule (unaccompanied children).

(31) Figure 4 shows total Southwest border encounters of both accompanied children and unaccompanied children in the 10 months between the entry into force of the Asylum Processing IFR and the latest available data at the time of writing (March 2023), as well as the 10 months prior to the effectiveness of the Asylum Processing IFR. There is no apparent rise in encounters with accompanied children relative to unaccompanied children. Between May 2022 and June 2022, monthly encounters with accompanied children fell by 27.7 percent (from 235 to 170), while monthly encounters with unaccompanied children rose by 3.9 percent (from 14,675 to 15,250). Considering the ten-month period since effectiveness of the rule compared to the ten-month period before effectiveness of the rule, the average monthly encounters with accompanied children rose by 12.4 percent after the rule (from 239 to 269) and the average monthly encounters with unaccompanied children rose by 9.6 percent (from 12,178 to 13,346).

*Figure 5: Ratio of accompanied to unaccompanied child encounters, Aug. 2021–Mar. 2023*



(32) Figure 5 shows the same data expressed as the ratio of accompanied child encounters to unaccompanied child encounters. If migrants' understanding of the procedural change under the Asylum Processing IFR caused a greater incentive to arrive at the border and attempt entry, I expect to observe a rise in this ratio—that is, a rise in the number of accompanied child encounters relative to the number of unaccompanied child encounters.

- (33) No such trend is evident in Figure 5. The ratio fell in the first month the rule was effective (0.011 in June 2022) relative to the preceding month (0.016 in May 2022). The average monthly ratio in 2022 after the rule was effective (0.019, June through December 2022) was lower than before the rule (0.021, January through May 2022). The ratio in January 2023 (0.024) was lower than the ratio in January 2022 (0.027).
- (34) In sum, using three independent proxies for how migrant encounters would have evolved in the absence of the Asylum Processing IFR, I find no evidence that encounters after the Asylum Processing IFR took effect have been higher than what they would have been if the rule had not taken effect. If anything, there is suggestive but not conclusive evidence that encounters after the Asylum Processing IFR have been slightly lower than what they would have been in the absence of the rule.
- (35) I am not aware of more informative quantitative tests that could be conducted with the data available to me, but I may supplement, clarify, or revise my opinion if I receive new data during this ongoing matter. ■



Michael A. Clemens

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<sup>1</sup> Michael A. Clemens's research publications with citations compiled by Google Scholar:  
<https://scholar.google.com/citations?user=DdtBDnkAAAJ>

<sup>2</sup> 1,362 citations by academic economists, in the top 2.1 percent of 66,166 academic economists rated by RePEc, “Top 5% Authors, Number of Citations, as of March 2023”: <https://ideas.repec.org/top/top.person.nbcites.html>

<sup>3</sup> Number 290 out of 66,407 economists registered, as of April 2023:  
<https://ideas.repec.org/top/top.person.all10.html>

<sup>4</sup> An irregular migrant is a person who enters a migrant-destination country without a visa that is normally required. Irregular migrants to the US include people who break the law, such as migrants who enter surreptitiously and without admission by the Dept. of Homeland Security; they also include people who do not break the law, such as migrants who arrive at a US port of entry for the purpose of claiming asylum, a purpose for which no US visa exists.

<sup>5</sup> “Procedures for Credible Fear Screening and Consideration of Asylum, Withholding of Removal, and CAT Protection Claims by Asylum Officers”, [87 FR 18078](https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2022/01/13/2022-018078).

<sup>6</sup> “The NESS test [Necessary Element of a Sufficient Set] states that a particular condition was a cause of a specific consequence if and only if it was a necessary element of a set of antecedent actual conditions that was sufficient for the occurrence of the consequence” (Wright 1985, 1774).

<sup>7</sup> Overall migrant encounters at the Southwest land border, by month, October 2018 through March 2023 from Customs and Border Protection, “[Public Data Portal: Southwest Land Border Encounters](https://publicdata.cbp.dhs.gov/datasets/land-encounters)”, last updated April 3, 2023, accessed April 25, 2023.

<sup>8</sup> The MPP enrollment dataset starting in January 2019 obtained from CBP by TRAC is publicly available at: <https://trac.syr.edu/phptools/immigration/mpp4>. MPP enrollments starting in October 2019 are publicly available directly from CBP at: <https://www.cbp.gov/newsroom/stats/migrant-protection-protocols-fy-2020>, <https://www.cbp.gov/newsroom/stats/migrant-protection-protocols-fy2021>, and <https://www.cbp.gov/newsroom/stats/migrant-protection-protocols-fy22>

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<sup>9</sup> The seasonality of migrant encounters at the US Southwest border is documented by decades of research such as Davila, Alberto (1986), "The seasonality of apprehensions of undocumented Mexican workers." *International Migration Review* 20: 4: 986–991, and many since then. The type of ARIMA model I use, necessary for settings such as the present one where the variable of interest exhibits seasonal patterns and *exogenous* variables are available (those that affect the variable of interest but cannot be caused by it) is known as SARIMAX (Seasonal Autoregressive Integrated Moving Average with eXogenous variables).

<sup>10</sup> Formally, this model is described as ARIMA (2,1,2) (1,0,1)<sub>12</sub>.

<sup>11</sup> The US unemployment rate is well known to be an important driver of migrant arrivals at the border (e.g. Hanson and Spilimbergo 1999, Buehn and Eichler 2013; Helbling and Leblang 2019).

<sup>12</sup> 87 FR 18089 <https://www.federalregister.gov/d/2022-06148/p-214>

### III. Appendices

#### 1. Michael A. Clemens's publications for the past 10 years

*Below is a list of all of Michael Clemens's academic and non-academic publications from 2013 through the time of writing in 2023, in reverse chronological order.*

- 2023: "Human Capital Investment under Exit Options: Evidence from a Natural Quasi-Experiment", *Journal of Development Economics*, 163: 103112 (with Satish Chand).
- 2023: "Labour Mobility with Vocational Skill: Australian Demand and Pacific Supply", forthcoming in *Australian Ec. Rev.* (with Satish Chand).
- 2023: "Why We Won't Reach a 'Climate Migrant' Protection Category—And What We Can Do Instead", Washington, DC: Center for Global Development, Jun. 8 (with Sam Huckstep).
- 2023: "Climate Change and Migration: An Omnibus Overview for Policymakers and Development Practitioners", CGD Policy Paper 292, Washington, DC: Center for Global Development, May 9 (with Sam Huckstep).
- 2022: "The economic and fiscal effects on the United States from reduced numbers of refugees and asylum seekers", *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 38 (3): 449–486.
- 2022: "The effect of seasonal work visas on native employment: Evidence from U.S. farm work in the Great Recession", *Review of International Economics*, 30 (5): 1348–1374.
- 2022: "A Pacific Skills Visa: Improving Opportunities for Skilled Migration Throughout the Pacific Region", *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies*, 9 (3): 430–446 (with Satish Chand and Helen Dempster).
- 2022: "The effect of low-skill immigration restrictions on US firms and workers: Evidence from a randomized lottery", NBER Working Paper 30589. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research (with Ethan G. Lewis).
- 2022: "Do Cash Transfers Deter Migration?", CGD Policy Paper 270, Washington, DC: Center for Global Development, Oct. 19.
- 2022: "Pathways for Labor Migration from Northern Central America: Five Difficult but Necessary Proposals", North and Central American Task Force on Migration, World Refugee and Migration Council, Jan. 13.
- 2022: "Doing Refugee Integration Better: Three Lessons from the Latest Research", Washington, DC: Center for Global Development, Oct. 19.
- 2021: "Violence, development, and migration waves: Evidence from Central American child migrant apprehensions", *Journal of Urban Economics*, 124 (July): 103355.
- 2021: "The Fiscal Effect of Immigration: Reducing Bias in Influential Estimates", CGD Working Paper, Washington, DC: Center for Global Development.
- 2021: "Australia needs more Pacific mid-skill migration: Here's how to facilitate it", *DevPolicy*, Oct. 15 (with Satish Chand and Helen Dempster).

- 2021: "Expanding Legal Migration Pathways from Nigeria to Europe: From Brain Drain to Brain Gain", World Bank-CGD report, Jul. 19 (with Samik Adhikari, Helen Dempster, and Nkechi Linda Ekeator).
- 2021: "The Real Root Causes of America's Border Crisis: And How Biden Can Address Them", *Foreign Affairs*, Jun. 7.
- 2021: "Ethical Recruitment of Health Workers: Using Bilateral Cooperation to Fulfill the World Health Organization's Global Code of Practice", CGD Policy Paper 212 (with Helen Dempster), May 27.
- 2021: "Should the Threat of Pandemics End the Age of Mobility?", *Think Global Health*, Jan. 28 (with Thomas Ginn).
- 2020: "Global Mobility and the Threat of Pandemics: Evidence from Three Centuries", CGD Working Paper 560, Washington, DC: Center for Global Development (with Thomas Ginn).
- 2020: "Migration from Developing Countries: Selection, Income Elasticity, and Simpson's Paradox", CGD Working Paper 539, Washington, DC: Center for Global Development (with Mariapia Mendola).
- 2020: "The Emigration Life Cycle: How Development Shapes Emigration from Poor Countries", CGD Working Paper 540, Washington, DC: Center for Global Development.
- 2020: "How economic development shapes migration: Facing the emigration life cycle", *Migration Policy Practice*, 10 (4): 31–34 (with Cassandra Zimmer).
- 2020: "Restricting Mobility Will Not Stop the Next Pandemic", CGD Commentary and Analysis, Dec. 10 (with Thomas Ginn and Reva Resstack).
- 2020: "Harnessing Northern Triangle Migration for Mutual Benefit", White House and the World Policy Brief, Dec. 3 (with Reva Resstack and Cassandra Zimmer).
- 2020: "How economic development shapes emigration", *VoxDev* (commissioned), Sep. 21.
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- 2019: "La migración es lo que hacemos de ella", *Política Exterior*, No. 187. Jan./Feb. (with Cindy Huang, Jimmy Graham, and Kate Gough).
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- 2017: "The labour market impact of refugee waves", *CentrePiece* 22 (3, October): 26–28. London: Centre for Economic Performance, London School of Economics (with Jennifer Hunt).
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- 2013: "More Unskilled Workers, Please: The new immigration bill doesn't do nearly enough to address America's real labor shortage", *Foreign Policy*, July 8.
- 2013: "What Nativists Don't Want You to Know About Immigrants", *Boston Review*, June 3.
- 2013: "The New Transparency in Development Economics: Lessons from the Millennium Villages Controversy", *World Economics Journal* 14 (4): 77–97 (with Gabriel Demombynes).
- 2013: "On the Move: The Highly Skilled (Turning 'Brain Drain' into 'Brain Gain')", World Bank Blog, October.
- 2013: "What Do We Know About Skilled Migration and Development?", Policy Brief No. 3, September. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.
- 2013: "The Big Picture on Global Talent: How to better compete for, and grow talent". Paper prepared for the Salzburg Trilogue, August 30. Bertelsmann Stiftung (with Christal Morehouse).

## **2. Statement of compensation**

For the research presented in this report I was compensated at the hourly rate of \$600.00.

## **3. Full CV of Michael A. Clemens (attached below)**

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## Affiliations

2023–present	Dept. of Economics, George Mason University (Fairfax, VA); <i>Full Professor with tenure</i>
2023–present	Peterson Institute for International Economics (Washington, DC); <i>Non-Resident Senior Fellow</i>
2014–present	IZA–Institute of Labor Economics (Bonn, Germany); <i>Research Fellow</i>
2021–present	Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration (CReAM), Department of Economics, University College London; <i>External Research Fellow</i>
2023–present	Center for Global Development (Washington, DC); <i>Distinguished Non-Resident Fellow</i>
2021–present	Office of the Administrator, USAID; <i>Expert Development Economist</i> ► <i>Security clearance TS</i>
2002–2023	Center for Global Development (Washington, DC) ► <i>Director for Migration, Displacement, &amp; Humanitarian Policy, 2019–2023</i> ► <i>Co-Director for Migration, Displacement, &amp; Humanitarian Policy, 2017–2019</i> ► <i>Research Fellow, 2002–2010; Senior Fellow, 2010–2023; Research Manager, 2011–2017</i>
2022	Georgetown University (SFS & McCourt School); <i>Adjunct Professor</i>
2016–2022	<i>Journal of Population Economics</i> (Springer); <i>Associate Editor</i>
2016–2020	<i>World Development</i> (Elsevier); <i>Associate Editor</i>
2011	Dept. of Economics & Wagner School, New York University; <i>Visiting Scholar</i>
2003–2010	McCourt School of Public Policy, Georgetown University; <i>Affiliated Associate Professor</i>
2000–2002	Center for International Development, Harvard University; <i>Research Fellow</i>
1998–2000	World Bank; <i>Consultant</i> , environmental economics
1999	Bain & Company (Istanbul, Turkey); <i>Associate Consultant</i>
1996 & 1997	World Bank; <i>Summer Assistant</i> , environmental economics
1994–1995	Thomas J. Watson Foundation; <i>Watson Fellow</i> in Bogotá, Colombia & Cuiabá, Brazil

## Academic Journal Articles

2023	“ <a href="#">Human Capital Investment under Exit Options: Evidence from a Natural Quasi-Experiment</a> ”, <i>Journal of Development Economics</i> , 163: 103112 (with Satish Chand). <i>(Pre-pub. versions at CGD and IZA)</i> ► Covered by <i>The Economist</i> , <i>The Atlantic</i> (bis), <i>Guardian Nigeria</i>
2023	“Labour Mobility with Vocational Skill: Australian Demand and Pacific Supply”, forthcoming in <i>Australian Ec. Rev.</i> (with Satish Chand). <i>(Pre-pub. versions at IZA and CGD)</i>
2022	“ <a href="#">The economic and fiscal effects on the United States from reduced numbers of refugees and asylum seekers</a> ”, <i>Oxford Review of Economic Policy</i> , 38 (3): 449–486. <i>(Pre-pub. versions at IZA and CGD)</i> ► Covered by <i>Boston Globe</i> , <i>Marketwatch</i> , <i>Forbes</i> , <i>El País</i> , <i>NewsNation</i> , <i>Dziennik Gazeta</i>
2022	“ <a href="#">Migration on the Rise, a Paradigm in Decline: The Last Half-Century of Global Mobility</a> ”, <i>AEA Papers &amp; Proceedings</i> , 112: 257–261. <i>(Pre-pub. versions at IZA, CReAM, and CGD)</i>

## Academic Journal Articles, *continued*

- 2022 “The effect of seasonal work visas on native employment: Evidence from U.S. farm work in the Great Recession”, *Review of International Economics*, 30 (5): 1348–1374. ⟨*Pre-pub. versions at IZA and CGD
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2021 “Violence, development, and migration waves: Evidence from Central American child migrant apprehensions”, *Journal of Urban Economics*, 124 (July): 10355. ⟨*Pre-pub. versions at IZA and CGD
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2019 “The Place Premium: Bounding the Price Equivalent of Migration Barriers”, *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 101 (2): 201–213 (with Claudio Montenegro and Lant Pritchett). ⟨*Pre-pub. versions at CGD, Harvard University
  - ▷ Covered by the *New York Times*; *The Economist* (bis); *The Atlantic*; *Axios*; *El País*; *Quartz*; *Vox*
  - ▷ Replication code at DOI:[10.7910/DVN/DHZUOT](https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/DHZUOT)

2019 “The New Economic Case for Migration Restrictions: An Assessment”, *Journal of Development Economics*, 138: 153–164 (with Lant Pritchett). ⟨*Pre-pub. versions at CGD, IZA, and Harvard University
  - ▷ Covered by the *New York Times* and *The Economist*
  - ▷ Replication code and data at DOI:[10.7910/DVN/HFTDQZ](https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/HFTDQZ)

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  - ▷ Summary for VoxEU
  - ▷ Covered by *New York Times*; *Bloomberg*; *Wall Street Journal*; *The Economist* (bis); *Washington Post*; *U.S. News*; *Miami New Times*; *Huffington Post*; *Bloomberg Surveillance* (1:20:15)

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  - ▷ Replication code and data at <https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/bracero>

2018 “Why don’t remittances appear to affect growth?”, *Economic Journal*, 128 (612): F179–F209 (with David McKenzie). ⟨*Pre-pub. version*; Co-released with World Bank⟩

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2018 “Deterring Emigration with Foreign Aid: An Overview of Evidence from Low-Income Countries”, *Population and Development Review*, 44 (4): 667–693 (with Hannah M. Postel). ⟨*Pre-pub. version*; Co-released with GLM-LIC and IZA⟩

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2018 “Testing for repugnance in economic transactions: Evidence from guest work in the Gulf”, *Journal of Legal Studies*, 47 (S1): S5–S44. ⟨*Pre-pub. version*; Co-released with IZA⟩******

## Academic Journal Articles, *continued*

		► Covered by the <i>Washington Post</i>
2017	“Split Decisions: Household Finance When a Policy Discontinuity Allocates Overseas Work”, <i>Review of Economics and Statistics</i> , 99 (3): 531–543 (with Erwin R. Tiongson). ⟨ <a href="#">Pre-pub. version► Replication code and data at DOI:<a href="https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/2DO8QP">10.7910/DVN/2DO8QP</a></a>	
2017	“The Meaning of Failed Replications: A Review and Proposal”, <i>Journal of Economic Surveys</i> , 31 (1): 326–342. ⟨ <a href="#">Pre-pub. version</a>	
2017	“Temporary Work Visas as U.S.-Haiti Development Cooperation: A Preliminary Impact Evaluation”, <i>IZA Journal of Labor &amp; Development</i> , 6: 4 (with Hannah Postel). ⟨ <a href="#">Pre-pub. version► Replication code and data at DOI:<a href="https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/J6P2KT">10.7910/DVN/J6P2KT</a> ► Covered by <i>The Economist</i> (bis, ter); <i>Washington Post</i>; <i>Reuters</i>; <i>NBC</i>; <i>CNN</i>; <i>UPI</i>; <i>Miami Herald</i>; <i>La Opinión</i></a>	
2016	“The New Role for the World Bank”, <i>Journal of Economic Perspectives</i> , 30 (1): 53–76 (with Michael Kremer). ⟨ <a href="#">Pre-pub. version► Covered by <i>Vox</i></a>	
2016	“Losing Our Minds? New research directions on skilled migration and development”, <i>International Journal of Manpower</i> , 37 (7): 1227–1248. ⟨ <a href="#">Pre-pub. version► Covered by the <i>Financial Times</i></a>	
2015	“Global Skill Partnerships: A proposal for technical training in a mobile world”, <i>IZA Journal of Labor Policy</i> , 4:2. ⟨ <a href="#">Pre-pub. version► Proposal endorsed by the UN Secretary General and the UN Marrakesh Compact for Migration, Objective 18. Covered by <i>Inter Press Service</i>; <i>El País</i></a>	
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2012	“Counting chickens when they hatch: Timing and the effects of aid on growth”, <i>Economic Journal</i> , 122 (561), 590–617 (with Steven Radelet, Rikhil Bhavnani, and Sami Bazzi). ⟨ <a href="#">Pre-pub. version► Paper awarded the <i>Royal Economic Society Prize</i></a>	
2012	“Why were Latin America’s tariffs so much higher than Asia’s before 1950?”, <i>Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History</i> , 30 (1): 12–39 (with Jeffrey G. Williamson). ⟨ <a href="#">Pre-pub. version</a>	
2011	“Economics and Emigration: Trillion-Dollar Bills on the Sidewalk?”, <i>Journal of Economic Perspectives</i> , 25 (3): 83–106. ⟨ <a href="#">Pre-pub. version</a>	

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2011		“When Does Rigorous Impact Evaluation Make a Difference? The Case of the Millennium Villages”, <i>Journal of Development Effectiveness</i> , 3 (3): 305–339 (with Gabriel Demombynes). ⟨ <a href="#">Pre-pub. version<li>▷ Replication code and data at DOI:<a href="https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/28146">10.7910/DVN/28146</a></li><li>▷ Covered by the <i>Financial Times</i>; <i>New York Times</i> (bis); <i>The Economist</i>; <i>Nature</i> (bis); <i>Daily Mail</i></li></a>
2008		“Income Per Natural: Measuring Development for People rather than Places”, <i>Population and Development Review</i> , 34 (3): 395–434 (with Lant Pritchett). ⟨ <a href="#">Pre-pub. version<li>▷ Covered by <i>The Economist</i> and <i>The Atlantic</i></li></a>
2008		“New data on African health professionals abroad”, <i>Human Resources for Health</i> , 6:1 (with Gunilla Pettersson). <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▷ Replication code and data at DOI:<a href="https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/28161">10.7910/DVN/28161</a></li></ul>
2007		“The trouble with the MDGs: Confronting expectations of aid and development success”, <i>World Development</i> , 35 (5): 735–751 (with Charles Kenny and Todd J. Moss). ⟨ <a href="#">Pre-pub. version</a>
2007		“The ghost of 0.7%: Origins and relevance of the international aid target”, <i>International Journal of Development Issues</i> , 6 (1): 3–25 (with Todd J. Moss). ⟨ <a href="#">Pre-pub. version</a>
2004		“Wealth Bias in the First Global Capital Market Boom, 1870–1913”, <i>Economic Journal</i> , 114 (495): 304–337 (with Jeffrey G. Williamson). ⟨ <a href="#">Pre-pub. version</a>
2004		“Why Did the Tariff-Growth Correlation Change after 1950?”, <i>Journal of Economic Growth</i> , 9 (1): 5–46 (with Jeffrey G. Williamson). ⟨ <a href="#">Pre-pub. version</a>
1999		“Genuine Savings Rates in Developing Countries”, <i>World Bank Economic Review</i> , 13 (2): 333–356 (with Kirk Hamilton). ⟨ <a href="#">Pre-pub. version</a>
1999		“Reserve Design for Species Preservation”, <i>European Journal of Operational Research</i> , 112 (2): 273–283 (with Charles R. ReVelle and Justin Williams).
1993		“Homologous and illegitimate recombination in developing <i>Xenopus</i> oocytes and eggs”, <i>Molecular and Cellular Biology</i> , 13 (11): 6897–6906 (with Chris W. Lehman, David K. Worthylake, Jonathan K. Trautman, and Dana Carroll).

## Books

2024	<i>The Walls of Nations</i> , New York: Columbia University Press, forthcoming.
1991	<i>Geometry for the Classroom</i> , New York: Springer-Verlag (with C. Herbert Clemens).

## Papers Under Review

2022	“The effect of low-skill immigration restrictions on US firms and workers: Evidence from a randomized lottery”, NBER Working Paper 30589. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research (with Ethan G. Lewis). ⟨Co-released with <i>IZA</i> , <i>CReAM</i> , <i>CESifo</i> , and <i>CGD<li>▷ <a href="#">Summary for VoxEU</a>; Featured in the NBER Digest, December 2022; Referenced by White House Council of Economic Advisers in <i>Economic Report of the President</i>, March 2023</li></i>
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## Papers Under Review, *continued*

	► Covered by <i>Wall Street Journal</i> [bis], NPR, NBC, <i>Bloomberg Law</i> [bis], <i>Forbes</i> , IZA Newsroom ( <i>Auf Deutsch</i> )
2021	“The Fiscal Effect of Immigration: Reducing Bias in Influential Estimates”, CGD Working Paper, Washington, DC: Center for Global Development. <i>(Co-released with IZA, CReAM and CESifo)</i> ► Covered by <i>Forbes</i>
2020	“Global Mobility and the Threat of Pandemics: Evidence from Three Centuries”, CGD Working Paper 560, Washington, DC: Center for Global Development (with Thomas Ginn). <i>(Co-released with IZA)</i> ► Covered by <i>Bloomberg</i>
2020	“Migration from Developing Countries: Selection, Income Elasticity, and Simpson’s Paradox”, CGD Working Paper 539, Washington, DC: Center for Global Development (with Mariapia Mendola). <i>(Co-released with IZA and Centro Studi Luca d’Agliano)</i> ► Covered by <i>The Economist; United Nations Dispatch; Bistandsaktuelt</i> ; IZA Newsroom
2020	“The Emigration Life Cycle: How Development Shapes Emigration from Poor Countries”, CGD Working Paper 540, Washington, DC: Center for Global Development. <i>(Co-released with IZA)</i> ► Covered by <i>The Economist; IZA Newsroom; The Correspondent; Foreign Policy; Washington Examiner; Kehitys-Utveckling</i>
2019	“Measuring the Spatial Misallocation of Labor: The Returns to India-Gulf Guest Work in a Natural Experiment”, CGD Working Paper. <i>(Co-released with IZA)</i> ► Covered by <i>India Times; Khaleej Times; Gulf News; The National</i>

## Expert Reports in Litigation

2020	<i>Human Rights First v. Chad F. Wolf et al.</i> (US District Court DC, 1:20-cv-03764) ► The challenged Rule was enjoined by <i>Pangea Legal Services v. DHS</i> (3:20-cv-09253-JD)
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## Book Chapters

2015	“Does Development Reduce Migration?”, in Robert E. B. Lucas, ed., <i>International Handbook on Migration and Economic Development</i> , Northampton, Mass.: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 152–185. <i>(Pre-pub. version)</i> ► Covered by <i>The Economist; New York Times; Foreign Policy; Der Spiegel; Neue Zürcher Zeitung</i>
2013	“Seize the Spotlight: A Case for GCC Engagement in Research on the Effects of Labor Migration”. In <i>Labor Mobility: An Enabler for Sustainable Development</i> , Abu Dhabi: Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, pp. 103–120. <i>(Pre-pub. version)</i>
2012	“The Collision of Development Goals and Impact Evaluation”, in Robert Peccoud, ed., <i>Evaluation and its Discontents: Do We Learn from Experience in Development?</i> , Proceedings of the 9th AFD-EUDN Conference, Paris: Agence Française de Développement, pp. 169–197.
2012	“Income per Natural: Measuring Development for People Rather Than Places”, in Oliver Bakewell, ed., <i>Migration and Development</i> , The International Library of Studies on Migration series, London: Edward Elgar Publishing, Ch. 34 (with Lant Pritchett).

## Book Chapters, *continued*

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| 2011 | “ <a href="#">The Labor Mobility Agenda for Development</a> ”, in Nancy Birdsall and Francis Fukuyama, eds. <i>New Ideas on Development after the Financial Crisis</i> , Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 260–287.  |
| 2011 | “The Financial Consequences of High-Skill Emigration: Lessons from African Doctors Abroad”, in Sonia Plaza and Dilip Ratha, eds. <i>Diaspora for Development in Africa</i> , Washington, DC: World Bank, pp. 165–182.   |
| 2011 | “ <a href="#">Genuine Savings Rates in Developing Countries</a> ”, in Karl-Gustaf Löfgren and Chuan-Zhong Li, eds. <i>Green National Accounting And Sustainability</i> , Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, pp. 653–676 (with Kirk Hamilton).   |
| 2010 | “ <a href="#">The Biggest Idea in Development That No One Really Tried</a> ”, in Emily Chamlee-Wright, ed., <i>The Annual Proceedings of the Wealth and Well-Being of Nations: 2009–2010, Volume II</i> , Beloit, WI: Beloit College Press, pp. 25–50.  |
| 2006 | “ <a href="#">Aid and Growth: The Current Debate and Some New Evidence</a> ”, in Peter Isard, Leslie Lipschitz, Alexandros Mourmouras, and Boriana Yontcheva, eds., <i>The Macroeconomic Management of Foreign Aid: Opportunities and Pitfalls</i> , Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund, pp 43–60 (with Steven Radelet and Rikhil Bhavnani).   |
| 2006 | “A first look at the consequences of African health professional emigration”, in Treasury of Australia and Reserve Bank of Australia, <i>G-20 Workshop on Demographic Challenges and Migration: Sydney, 27-28 August 2005</i> , Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, pp. 195–231.   |
| 2003 | “Absorptive capacity: How much is too much?” and “Exit: How long should the MCA commitment last?”, in Steven Radelet, <i>Challenging Foreign Aid: A Policymaker’s Guide to the Millennium Challenge Account</i> , Washington, DC: Center for Global Development (with Steven Radelet).  |
| 2001 | “ <a href="#">Are we saving enough for the future?</a> ”, in Jonathan M. Harris, Timothy A. Wise, Kevin P. Gallagher, and Neva R. Goodwin, eds., <i>A Survey of Sustainable Development: Social and Economic Dimensions</i> , Washington, DC: Island Press, pp. 37–41 (with Kirk Hamilton).   |
| 1997 | “ <a href="#">Are we saving enough for the future?</a> ”, in World Bank, <i>Expanding the Measure of Wealth: Indicators of Environmentally Sustainable Development</i> , Environmentally Sustainable Development Studies and Monographs Series, No. 17, Washington, DC: World Bank (with Kirk Hamilton).  |
| 1997 | “The Hidrovia Paraguay-Parana: A Review and Analysis of the Feasibility Studies and Environmental Assessment in the Context of Regional Development”, in Environmental Defense Fund, <i>The Hidrovia Paraguay-Parana Navigation Project: Report of an Independent Review</i> , Washington, DC: Environmental Defense Fund and Fundação Centro Brasileiro de Referência e Apoio Cultural/CEBRAC (with Thayer Scudder). |

## Policy Writings

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|------|---|
| 2023 | “ <a href="#">Why We Won’t Reach a ‘Climate Migrant’ Protection Category—And What We Can Do Instead</a> ”, Washington, DC: Center for Global Development, Jun. 8 (with Sam Huckstep).                                 |
| 2023 | “ <a href="#">Climate Change and Migration: An Omnibus Overview for Policymakers and Development Practitioners</a> ”, CGD Policy Paper 292, Washington, DC: Center for Global Development, May 9 (with Sam Huckstep). |
| 2022 | “ <a href="#">Do Cash Transfers Deter Migration?</a> ”, CGD Policy Paper 270, Washington, DC: Center for Global Development, Oct. 19. ⟨Co-released with IZA⟩  |
| 2022 | “ <a href="#">Doing Refugee Integration Better: Three Lessons from the Latest Research</a> ”, Washington, DC: Center for Global Development, Oct. 19.   |

## Policy Writings, *continued*

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|------|---|
| 2022 | “ <a href="#">Pathways for Labor Migration from Northern Central America: Five Difficult but Necessary Proposals</a> ”, <i>North and Central American Task Force on Migration</i> , World Refugee and Migration Council, Jan. 13. ⟨Co-released with CGD and IZA⟩  |
| 2021 | “ <a href="#">Australia needs more Pacific mid-skill migration: Here’s how to facilitate it</a> ”, <i>DevPolicy</i> , Oct. 15 (with Satish Chand and Helen Dempster).   |
| 2021 | “ <a href="#">Expanding Legal Migration Pathways from Nigeria to Europe: From Brain Drain to Brain Gain</a> ”, World Bank-CGD report, Jul. 19 (with Samik Adhikari, Helen Dempster, and Nkechi Linda Ekeator). ⟨Jointly released by <a href="#">World Bank</a> ⟩ <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▷ Policy brief: “<a href="#">Why Europe Should Build Legal Migration Pathways with Nigeria</a>”</li><li>▷ Covered by <a href="#">Handelsblatt</a>, <i>This Day</i></li></ul> |
| 2021 | “ <a href="#">The Real Root Causes of America’s Border Crisis: And How Biden Can Address Them</a> ”, <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , Jun. 7.   |
| 2021 | “ <a href="#">Ethical Recruitment of Health Workers: Using Bilateral Cooperation to Fulfill the World Health Organization’s Global Code of Practice</a> ”, CGD Policy Paper 212 (with Helen Dempster), May 27. <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▷ Covered by <a href="#">New York Times</a></li></ul>  |
| 2021 | “ <a href="#">The Missing Piece in Biden’s Plan for Central America: Bilateral Labor Agreements</a> ”, CGD blog, Feb. 9.  |
| 2021 | “ <a href="#">Should the Threat of Pandemics End the Age of Mobility?</a> ”, <i>Think Global Health</i> , Jan. 28 (with Thomas Ginn).   |
| 2020 | “ <a href="#">How economic development shapes migration: Facing the emigration life cycle</a> ”, <i>Migration Policy Practice</i> , 10 (4): 31–34 (with Cassandra Zimmer).  |
| 2020 | “ <a href="#">Restricting Mobility Will Not Stop the Next Pandemic</a> ”, CGD Commentary and Analysis, Dec. 10 (with Thomas Ginn and Reva Resstack).  |
| 2020 | “ <a href="#">Harnessing Northern Triangle Migration for Mutual Benefit</a> ”, <i>White House and the World Policy Brief</i> , Dec. 3 (with Reva Resstack and Cassandra Zimmer).  |
| 2020 | “ <a href="#">How economic development shapes emigration</a> ”, <i>VoxDev</i> (commissioned), Sep. 21.  |
| 2020 | “ <a href="#">Emigration Rises Along with Economic Development. Aid Agencies Should Face This, but Not Fear It</a> ”, CGD blog, Aug. 18.  |
| 2020 | “ <a href="#">The Future of Legal Migration: Labour Migration Pathways Between Europe and Africa</a> ”, in Matteo Villa, ed., <i>The Future of Migration to Europe</i> , Milan: ISPI Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale (with Helen Dempster and Katelyn Gough).   |
| 2020 | “ <a href="#">Migration and household finances: How a different framing can improve thinking about migration</a> ”, <i>Development Policy Review</i> , 38 (1): 3–27 (with Timothy N. Ogden). ⟨Pre-pub. version at CGD⟩  |
| 2020 | “ <a href="#">Shared Border, Shared Future: A U.S.-Mexican Bilateral Worker Agreement</a> ”, in Alex Nowrasteh and David J. Bier, eds., <i>12 New Immigration Ideas for the 21st Century</i> , Washington, DC: Cato Institute.  |
| 2019 | “ <a href="#">Three Facts You Haven’t Heard Much About Are Keys to Better Policy Toward Central America</a> ”, CGD blog, Nov. 1 (with Jimmy Graham). <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▷ Covered by <a href="#">Mother Jones</a></li></ul>  |
| 2019 | “ <a href="#">Promoting New Kinds of Legal Labour Migration Pathways Between Europe and Africa</a> ”, CGD Policy Brief (with Helen Dempster and Katelyn Gough).   |
| 2019 | “ <a href="#">The President Has Mostly Wiped out US Refugee Resettlement. Other Countries Aren’t Picking up the Slack</a> ”, CGD blog, Feb. 6.  |
| 2019 | “ <a href="#">La migración es lo que hacemos de ella</a> ”, <i>Política Exterior</i> , No. 187. Jan./Feb. (with Cindy Huang, Jimmy Graham, and Kate Gough).   |

## Policy Writings, *continued*

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| 2018 | <p><a href="#">“A Tool to Implement the Global Compact for Migration: Ten Key Steps for Building Global Skill Partnerships”</a>, CGD Brief, Dec. 4.</p>   |
| 2018 | <p><a href="#">“Migration as a form of development: New kinds of regulations to create shared benefits”</a>, <i>Migration Policy Practice</i>, 8 (3): 6–11.</p>   |
| 2018 | <p><a href="#">“The Economic and Fiscal Effects of Granting Refugees Formal Labor Market Access”</a>, CGD Working Paper 496 (with Cindy Huang and Jimmy Graham).</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">► Covered by <i>Politico, Apolitical</i></p>   |
| 2018 | <p><a href="#">“Countries should train migrants coming to work—before they arrive”</a>, <i>Apolitical</i>, June 29 (with Kate Gough).</p>   |
| 2018 | <p><a href="#">“Migration Is What You Make It: Seven Policy Decisions that Turned Challenges into Opportunities”</a>, CGD Note, May 30 (with Cindy Huang, Jimmy Graham, and Kate Gough).</p>  |
| 2018 | <p><a href="#">“Can Development Assistance Deter Emigration?”</a>, CGD Policy Brief, Feb. 12 (with Hannah Postel).</p>  |
| 2018 | <p><a href="#">“The Best Ideas for Making Migration Work”</a>, <i>Refugees Deeply</i>, Jan. 25 (with Katelyn Gough).</p>  |
| 2017 | <p><a href="#">“Migration is a Form of Development: The Need for Innovation to Regulate Migration for Mutual Benefit”</a>, Technical Paper No. 2017/8, UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. New York: United Nations.</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">► Covered by <i>El Periódico</i></p>  |
| 2017 | <p><a href="#">“Regional Security Means Border Security: New Data on Why Central American Children Flee to the United States”</a>, <i>War on the Rocks</i>, Texas National Security Network, 30 November.</p>   |
| 2017 | <p><a href="#">“Migrants will keep coming. We should give them the skills they need to thrive”</a>, World Economic Forum <i>Agenda</i>, 15 November.</p>  |
| 2017 | <p><a href="#">“The Need for a Bilateral Labor Agreement Between the US and Mexico, and the Responsibility for Leadership”</a>, Keynote speech at the conference <i>¿Qué hacer frente a la crisis migratoria? Nuevas visiones y propuestas de acción</i>, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City, jointly sponsored by Colmex and CIDE, 23 October. (<i>En español</i>)</p> |
| 2017 | <p><a href="#">“The labour market impact of refugee waves”</a>, <i>CentrePiece</i> 22 (3, October): 26–28. London: Centre for Economic Performance, London School of Economics (with Jennifer Hunt).</p>  |
| 2017 | <p><a href="#">“The economic effects of refugees are largely down to decisions made by the countries which take them”</a>, <i>American Politics and Policy</i> blog, LSE United States Centre, Oct. 20.</p>   |
| 2017 | <p><a href="#">“Global Skill Partnerships: A Proposal for Technical Training in a Mobile World”</a>, CGD Policy Brief, Oct. 11.</p>   |
| 2017 | <p><a href="#">“Global Skill Partnerships: A Proposal for Technical Training in Settings of Forced Displacement”</a>, CGD Policy Brief, Oct. 11 (with Katelyn Gough).</p>   |
| 2017 | <p><a href="#">“Foreign Policy Is Migration Policy: Lessons from the Drivers of Central American Child Migration”</a>, CGD Policy Brief, Sep. 13 (with Hannah Postel).</p>  |
| 2017 | <p><a href="#">“How Central American Youth Test Outdated U.S. Immigration Laws”</a>, <i>Americas Quarterly</i>, Aug. 15.</p>  |
| 2017 | <p><a href="#">“The Real Economic Cost of Accepting Refugees”</a>, <i>Refugees Deeply</i>, Aug. 8.</p>  |
| 2017 | <p><a href="#">“Trump says banning immigrants helps US workers. A leading economist says he’s wrong”</a>, <i>Vox.com</i>, Aug. 3.</p>   |
| 2017 | <p><a href="#">“The debate over the Mariel boatlift, economics’ most famous immigration controversy, explained”</a>, <i>Vox.com</i>, Jun. 23.</p>   |

## Policy Writings, *continued*

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| 2017 | “Does Kicking Out Mexicans Create Jobs? Here’s what happened the last time an American president promised to create jobs by removing Mexican immigrants”, <i>Politico</i> , Feb. 15.  |
| 2017 | “Walling the U.S. Off From Mexico Won’t Work”, <i>U.S. News &amp; World Report</i> , Feb. 2.  |
| 2017 | “Don’t despair, innovate—Now is the time to try new forms of development cooperation”, <i>Devex Global Views</i> , Feb. 23.   |
| 2016 | <i>Shared Border, Shared Future: A Blueprint to Regulate US-Mexico Labor Mobility</i> , Washington, DC: Center for Global Development (with Ernesto Zedillo and Carlos Gutierrez). <i>⟨En español⟩</i><br>► Covered by the <i>New York Times</i> ; <i>Washington Post</i> [bis]; National Public Radio; <i>El Universal</i> ; <i>La Crónica</i> |
| 2016 | “Development Aid to Deter Migration Will Do Nothing of the Kind”, <i>Refugees Deeply</i> , Oct. 31.   |
| 2016 | “World Bank’s US dependency has to end: It’s time to choose the institution’s president based on merit rather than geopolitical considerations”, <i>Politico Europe</i> , September 13.   |
| 2016 | “Why today’s migration crisis is an issue of global economic inequality”, Ford Foundation <i>Equals Change</i> blog, July 29.   |
| 2016 | “Global Skill Partnerships: A proposal for technical training in a mobile world”, <i>OECD Development Centre blog</i> , April 19.   |
| 2016 | “Time for philanthropists to get on board with migration”, <i>Alliance</i> magazine, March.   |
| 2015 | “A Self-Interested Approach to Migration Crises: Push Factors, Pull Factors, and Investing In Refugees”, <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , Sept. 27 (with Justin Sandefur).  |
| 2015 | “Gestionar la crisis migratoria desde el interés propio”, <i>Política Exterior</i> , November-December (with Justin Sandefur).  |
| 2015 | “Remittances 101 for Populist Politicians”, <i>Views from the Center</i> blog, August 24.<br>► Covered by <i>Newsweek</i> and <i>ABC News</i>   |
| 2015 | “Smart policy toward high-skill emigrants”, <i>IZA World of Labor</i> 203, November.  |
| 2015 | “Zero Illegal Immigration: A Thought Experiment (with Time Travel)”, <i>Peregrine</i> , Issue 1502, Hoover Institution, Oct. 23.  |
| 2015 | “The South Pacific Secret to Breaking the Poverty Cycle”, <i>Huffington Post: Impact</i> , Sep. 15.   |
| 2015 | “Why It’s Time to Drop the ‘Brain Drain’ Refrain”, <i>CGD Blog</i> , Jun. 30.<br>► Covered by <i>Forbes</i>   |
| 2015 | “Global Skill Partnerships: A Proposal for Technical Training in a Mobile World”, in Bertelsmann Stiftung, ed., <i>A Fair Deal on Talent: Fostering Just Migration Governance</i> , Gütersloh: Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung, pp. 297–304.  |
| 2015 | “In Haiti, U.S. rectifies missed opportunity to help”, <i>The Hill Congress Blog</i> , Jan. 12 (with Royce Bernstein Murray).   |
| 2014 | “The WHO Global Code of Practice: A Useful Guide for Recruiting Health Care Professionals? Lessons from Germany and Beyond”, CGD Essay (with Steffen Angenendt and Meiko Merda). <i>⟨Auf Deutsch⟩</i>   |
| 2014 | “Let the People Go: The Problem With Strict Migration Limits”, <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , 93 (1, Jan./Feb.): 152–159 (with Justin Sandefur). <i>⟨Pre-pub. version⟩</i>  |
| 2014 | “Skilled Migration from Mexico: Trends, Concerns, and Outlook”, CGD Essay. Washington, DC: Center for Global Development. <i>⟨En español⟩</i>   |

## Policy Writings, *continued*

- 2013 “[Temporary Work Visas: A Four-Way Win for the Middle Class, Low-Skill Workers, Border Security, and Migrants](#)”, CGD Brief, April. Washington, DC: Center for Global Development (with Lant Pritchett).
- 2013 “[More Unskilled Workers, Please: The new immigration bill doesn't do nearly enough to address America's real labor shortage](#)”, *Foreign Policy*, July 8.
- 2013 “[What Nativists Don't Want You to Know About Immigrants](#)”, *Boston Review*, June 3.
- 2013 “[The New Transparency in Development Economics: Lessons from the Millennium Villages Controversy](#)”, *World Economics Journal* 14 (4): 77–97 (with Gabriel Demombynes). (Pre-pub. version)
- 2013 “[On the Move: The Highly Skilled \(Turning ‘Brain Drain’ into ‘Brain Gain’\)](#)”, World Bank Blog, October.
- 2013 “[What Do We Know About Skilled Migration and Development?](#)”, Policy Brief No. 3, September. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.
- 2013 “[The Big Picture on Global Talent: How to better compete for, and grow talent](#)”. Paper prepared for the Salzburg Trilogue, August 30. Bertelsmann Stiftung (with Christal Morehouse).
- 2012 “[L'affrontement entre les objectifs de développement et l'évaluation d'impact](#)”, *Revue d'économie du développement*, 26 (4): 175–205.
- 2012 “[Crossing borders to escape natural calamities is no easy option](#)”, *The Guardian*, Aug. 23.
- 2012 “[How the Training of Emigrant Professionals Can Be Financed by Destination Countries](#)”, Presentation at the Global Economic Symposium, 2012, Rio de Janeiro, October 16–17.  
► *First public discussion of the Global Skill Parntership proposal*
- 2011 “[Putting solutions on trial: Impact Evaluation and the Millennium Villages Experiment in Africa](#)”, *Boston Review*, June 16.
- 2011 “[Memo to the WHO: Blocking health worker migration is not the answer](#)”, *AidWatch* blog, April 26 (with Amanda Glassman).
- 2010 “[The year when shrinking was good](#)”, *Foreign Policy*, Jun. 21.
- 2010 “[Let Haitians come to the U.S.: The best way to help Haiti rebuild is through immigration](#)”, *Global Post*, Feb. 26.
- 2010 “[Let them leave: Why migration is the best solution for Haiti's recovery](#)”, *Foreign Policy*, Jan. 27.
- 2010 “[To help Haiti's earthquake victims, change U.S. immigration laws](#)”, *Washington Post*, Jan. 24, p. B2.
- 2010 “[Heath Worker Migration: Disease or Symptom?](#)”, *Global Health*, Winter issue.
- 2009 “[Migrants Count: Report of the Commission on International Migration Data for Development Research and Policy](#)”, Washington: Center for Global Development (with Patricia A. Santo Tomas and Lawrence H. Summers). (Arabic, French, Russian, Spanish)
- 2009 “[Skill Flow: A fundamental reconsideration of skilled-worker migration and development](#)”, background paper for the *Human Development Report 2009*, New York: United Nations Development Program.
- 2009 “[Think Again: Brain Drain—The movement of skilled workers from poor countries to rich ones is nothing to fear. In the long run, it will benefit both.](#)”, *Foreign Policy*, Oct. 22 (with David McKenzie).
- 2008 “[Immigrants are an Engine of Prosperity](#)”, *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, Nov. 27.

## Policy Writings, *continued*

2007	“Smart Samaritans: Is There a Third Way in the Development Debate?”, <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , 86 (5, Sept./Oct.): 132–140.
2006	“Le mythe des 0,7% : origines et pertinence de la cible fixée pour l'aide internationale au développement”, <i>Afrique Contemporaine</i> , 219: 173–201 (with Todd J. Moss).
2005	“The Millennium Development Goals, Aid Targets, and the Costs of Over-Expectations”, <i>Sustainable Development Law &amp; Policy</i> , 6 (1): 58–84 (with Charles J. Kenny and Todd J. Moss).
2005	“Costs and Causes of Zimbabwe’s Crisis”, CGD Note, Washington, DC: Center for Global Development (with Todd J. Moss).
2005	“Aid and Growth: New evidence shows that aid flows aimed at growth have produced results”, <i>Finance and Development</i> , 42 (3): 16–20 (with Steven Radelet and Rikhil Bhavnani).
2005	“Interpréter les OMD”, <i>Courrier de la Planète</i> . 76: 18–21 (with Charles Kenny and Todd J. Moss).

## Comments and Reviews

2023	“A Landmark Study Debunks Populist Anti-Immigrant Narratives: Review of <i>Streets of Gold</i> by Abramitzky and Boustan”, <i>The UnPopulist</i> , August 3.
2017	“Review of Patrick Kingsley, <i>The New Odyssey: The Story of the Twenty-First-Century Refugee Crisis</i> ”, <i>Population and Development Review</i> , 43 (2).
2015	“Mapping the Worm Wars: What the Public Should Take Away from the Scientific Debate about Mass Deworming”, Views from the Center blog, July 30 (with Justin Sandefur).
2013	“Comments on ‘Gender Equality and Development’ by Esther Duflo”, in Justin Yifu Lin and Claudia Paz Sepúlveda, eds., <i>Development Challenges in a Post-crisis World</i> , Annual World Bank Conference on Development Economics 2011, Washington, DC: World Bank.
2012	“Concerns about the Millennium Villages project report”, <i>The Lancet</i> , 379 (9830): 1945 (with Jesse B. Bump, Gabriel Demombynes, and Lawrence Haddad). ► This comment resulted in a retraction of findings in the critiqued paper.
2012	“Multisector intervention to accelerate reductions in child stunting: an independent critique of scientific method”, <i>American Journal of Clinical Nutrition</i> , 95 (3): 774–775 (with Gabriel Demombynes).
2009	“Thesis of a rigid revivalist: Review of <i>Dead Aid</i> by Dambisa Moyo”, <i>Finance and Development</i> , 46 (3): 53–54.
2003	“Paul Streeten, <i>Globalisation: Threat or Opportunity?</i> ”, <i>Economic Development and Cultural Change</i> , 52 (1): 243–245.

## Other Research Papers

2007	“Do visas kill? Health Effects of African Health Professional Emigration”, CGD Working Paper 114, Washington, DC: Center for Global Development.
2004	“The long walk to school: Development goals in historical perspective”, CGD Working Paper 37, Washington, DC: Center for Global Development.
2004	“Inequality, Institutions and Long-Term Growth in Colombia”, Manuscript (with William Easterly and Carlos Esteban Posada).

## Other Research Papers, *continued*

2003	“Who Protected and Why? Tariffs the World Around 1870–1938”, Harvard Institute of Economic Research Discussion Paper No. 2010, Dept. of Economics, Harvard University (with Christopher Blattman and Jeffrey G. Williamson).
2002	“World Bank Capital Neither Complements Nor Substitutes for Private Capital”, CGD Working Paper 20, Washington, DC: Center for Global Development.
2002	“Do Rich Countries Invest Less in Poor Countries Than the Poor Countries Themselves?”, CGD Working Paper 19, Washington, DC: Center for Global Development.
1998	“Estimating National Wealth: Methodology and Results”, Environmental Economics Series, Paper Number 57, Washington, DC: World Bank (with Arundhati Kunte, Kirk Hamilton, and John Dixon).

## Influence

<i>Research</i>	Academic citation statistics at: <a href="#">Google Scholar</a>   <a href="#">SSRN</a>   RePEc IDEAS   <a href="#">ResearchGate</a> Invited to <a href="#">IOM Migration Research Leaders Syndicate</a> , 2017 <a href="#">Top 0.4% of academic economists</a> on RePEc IDEAS (221/61709), March 2011–March 2021 Replication data and code: <a href="https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/mclm">https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/mclm</a> “Six Vital Voices on the Economics of Migration”, by <i>NewsDeeply</i>
<i>Social media</i>	“ <a href="#">20 most influential think tank experts on Twitter</a> , 2017” by ESGlobal. <i>Foreign Policy</i> magazine “Who’s who of the foreign policy Twitterverse” <a href="#">2012</a> and <a href="#">2013</a> .

## Teaching

2023	<b>Economic Problems and Public Policies</b> (Undergrad.), George Mason University
2022	<b>How Migration Policy Shapes Economies, Local and Global</b> (Master's), Georgetown University McCourt School of Public Policy and Walsh School of Foreign Service
2003–2010	<b>Macroeconomics and Thesis Advising</b> (Master's), Georgetown University McCourt School of Public Policy
2005	<b>Foreign Aid Effectiveness</b> (Ph.D.), University of Copenhagen
2002	Certificate of Distinction in Teaching, Derek Bok Center for Teaching & Learning, Harvard Univ.
2001–2002	<b>Economic Development in East Asia</b> (Undergrad.), Harvard Univ. Dept. of Economics
2001	<b>Globalization and History</b> (Undergrad.), Harvard Univ. Dept. of Economics

## Education

2002	<b>Ph.D., economics</b> , Harvard University Dept. of Economics, Cambridge, MA ► <i>NSF Graduate Research Fellowship; Derek Bok certificate of distinction in teaching</i>
1997	<b>M.S., econ. &amp; environmental management</b> , Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD

► Abel Wolman Merit Scholarship

1994 **B.S., engineering and applied science**, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, CA

## Honors

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| 2013      | <a href="#">Royal Economic Society Prize</a> for best paper published in the <i>Economic Journal</i> in 2012 (with co-authors Steven Radelet, Rikhil Bhavnani, and Sami Bazzi). |
| 2010      | Invited for 15 <sup>th</sup> <a href="#">Sir Arthur Lewis Memorial Lecture</a> , Eastern Caribbean Central Bank.  |
| 2010      | Devex.com “ <a href="#">40 young leaders shaping the way international relief and development assistance are being delivered</a> ”.   |
| 1996–2000 | National Science Foundation <a href="#">Graduate Research Fellowship</a> .  |

## Peer Reviews

Referee reports for *American Economic Review*, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *Review of Economic Studies*, *Review of Economics and Statistics*, *Journal of the European Economic Association*, *Journal of Economic Literature*, *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics*, *Journal of Labor Economics*, *Journal of Human Resources*, *ILR Review*, *Labour Economics*, *Journal of Development Economics*, *Science*, *Science Advances*, *Journal of Economic Growth*, *Journal of Economic History*, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, *Journal of International Economics*, *World Development*, *Journal of Population Economics*, *Journal of Health Economics*, *World Bank Economic Review*, *Journal of Politics*, *Scandinavian Journal of Economics*, *Economic Inquiry*, *Public Choice*, *European Economic Review*, *The Lancet*, *International Migration Review*, *Population and Development Review*, *Journal of Globalization and Development*, *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, *Journal of Economic Surveys*, *European Economic History Review*, *Journal of Development Effectiveness*, *Review of World Economics*, *Journal of Iberian and Latin American History*, *Journal of International Money and Finance*, *Economic Notes*, National Science Foundation, World Bank Research Committee, Princeton University Press, Oxford University Press, MIT Press, Stanford University Press, Zed Books, *Journal of Economics and Growth of Developing Areas*, *Health Affairs*, *Human Resources for Health*, *Financial History Review*, *Social Science & Medicine*, *Georgetown University Public Policy Review*, several external academic tenure reviews.

## Personal

Languages | English (native); Spanish (advanced)  
Portuguese, French, Turkish (intermediate)

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